

The Principia.

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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound morals Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, domestic, business arrangements, and aims of life—to the individual, the family, the church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law; our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine promise; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

—Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

THE BIBLE ABOLITIONIST;

containing the Testimony of the Scriptures against Slavery; and the Scriptural method of treating it.

"To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isa. viii. 20. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. That the man of God might be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works." II Tim. iii. 16-17.

Part II.—Of Slavery—Its Nature and Character, as Defined and Described by the Slave-States themselves.

CHAPTER II.

WORKINGS OF THE SYSTEM, CONTINUED.

Education—Religious Liberty—Rights of Conscience.—The slave being held as a chattel, is held under a tenure which precludes any legal recognition of his rights, as a thinking and religious being. The master's right of ownership swallows up and annihilates all his right to education, and all his rights of conscience. The slave must do whatever his master commands, must do nothing except what he permits. Having no liberty or choice, in anything, he is not considered as having any right to "obey God rather than man." The Code of a Slave-State does not fully recognize this right, even in any white citizen—much less in a slave. Judge Taney denies that any colored man has "any rights that a white man is bound to respect."

No slave can have any religious privileges except such are allowed him by his master, who, whether he be a believer or an infidel, may decide what kind of religious instruction his slave shall receive, or whether he shall receive any at all.

In addition to this, in most of the slave States, the Statutes forbid the education of slaves and their liberty to free social worship, as being incompatible with their condition!

In South Carolina, as early as 1740, it was enacted that "whoever shall teach or cause any slave or slaves to write, or shall employ any slave as a scribe, shall, for every such offense, forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, current money." Brevard's Digest, 243.

Georgia—similar. Penalty twenty pounds. Prince's Digest, 445.

South Carolina, by another act, in 1800, provided "That assemblies of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes," &c., "met together for the purpose of mental instruction, in a confined or secret place, &c., are declared to be an unlawful assembly"—and magistrates are authorized to enter, (by breaking doors, if resisted) and "disperse such unlawful assemblages," and to "inflict such corporal punishment, not exceeding twenty lashes, upon such slaves, free negroes, &c., as they may judge necessary for deterring them from such unlawful assemblage in future." "That it shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, negroes, even in company with white persons, to meet together for the purpose of mental instruction, before the rising of the sun, or after the going down of the same." 2 Brevard's Digest, 254-5.

Virginia, Revised Code of 1819. "That all meetings or assemblages of slaves, or free negroes or mulattoes mixing

and associating with such slaves, at any meeting house or houses, &c., in the night, or at any school or schools for teaching them reading or writing, in the day or night, or under whatever pretext, shall be considered an unlawful assembly." The same enactment provides for "apprehending or dispersing such slaves, and to inflict corporal punishment on the offender or offenders, at the discretion of any justice of the peace not exceeding twenty lashes." 1 Rev. Code, 424-5.

The City of Savannah, in 1818, passed an Ordinance by which "any person that teaches any person of color, slave or free to read or write, or causes such person to be so taught, is subjected to a fine of thirty dollars for each offence; and every person of color who shall keep a school to teach reading or writing is subject to a fine of thirty dollars, or to be imprisoned ten days, and whipped thirty-nine lashes."

The Ordinance was specially designed to break up and prevent Sunday schools for colored people.

In North Carolina, in 1821, an Act was passed, imposing a fine of \$200 "upon any white person who should teach any slave to read or write, or give him any book or pamphlet" (Bible not excepted). If the offender were a free negro, he was to be punished with thirty-nine lashes, or imprisonment.—Jay's Inquiry.

In Georgia, a father may be flogged, according to statute for teaching his own child.—Ib.

In Louisiana, the punishment for teaching a slave, is one years imprisonment.—Ib.

In Georgia, by Act of 1829, no person is permitted to teach a slave, negro or free person of color, to read or write.

Under a similar act of Virginia, enacted in 1830,* Mrs. Douglass, a christian lady of refinement and education, was recently imprisoned in that state.

In North Carolina, "the patrols" were ordered to "search every negro house, for books or prints of any kind. Bibles and Hymn books were particularly mentioned."—(Welld's Slavery as it is, pp. 51.)

Said the Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky in 1834:

"Slavery dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance." "Throughout the whole land, so far as we can learn, there is but one school in which during the week, slaves can be taught. The light of three or four Sabbath schools is seen glimmering through the darkness that covers the population of a whole State. Here and there a family is found where humanity and religion impel the master, mistress, of children, to the laborious task of private instruction." "Nor is it to be expected that this state of things will become better unless it is determined that slavery shall cease."—Address, p. 8.

Bible Societies do not distribute Bibles among slaves, because it is prohibited, and because slaves cannot read. Even so far back as 1757. John Woolman, a distinguished Friend said:

"Some of our Society, and some of the Society called New Lights, use some endeavors to instruct those (slaves) they have, but, in common, this is not only neglected but disapproved."—(Journal of Life, &c., of Woolman, p. 74.)

In the House of Delegates of Virginia, in 1832, Mr. Berg said, "We have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their (the slaves') minds."

All this is admitted, on all hands, to be an indispensable feature of the slave system, and necessary to its continuance. This concession is virtually made whenever it is said (truth-

*The dates of all the enactments here cited show that they were enacted before the commencement of the present agitation of the slavery question, and constitute no new feature of the system.

+*New Lights.*—By this term, as an epithet of reproach, at the first, were those distinguished, who taught or believed the doctrines of the Edwardines, Bellamy, and Hopkins, all of whom were, in derision, called "new lights," or setters forth of new and strange doctrines, because they insisted so much upon "disinterested benevolence"—"unconditional submission to God"—"immediate repentance and conversion"—all which were accounted great heresies, by the conservatists of those days.

fully or falsely) that this severity against education was occasioned by the opposition made against slavery, and discontent thus created among the slaves. Nothing could be more absurd than the idea of allowing "goods and chattels personal" to be educated as human beings. And no man in his senses ever imagined it to be possible, in our age and nation, to educate the slaves and yet retain them in slavery. Enforced ignorance is the only adequate guaranty of the system. Every slaveholder understands this. But every reader of the Bible knows that this is directly in conflict with its teachings and requirements.

"That the soul be without knowledge is not good."—Prov. 19. 2. "Discretion shall preserve thee, understanding shall keep thee."—Ib. 2. 11. "Receive my instruction and not silver, and knowledge rather than choice gold. For wisdom is better than rubies, and all the things that may be desired, are not to be compared to it."—Ib. 8. 10-11. "Wise men lay up knowledge."—Ib. 10-14. "Through knowledge shall the just be delivered."—Ib. 11. Every prudent man dealeth with knowledge."—Ib. 15-16. "The lips of the wise disperse knowledge, but the heart of the foolish doeth not so."—Ib. 15. 7. "Because the preacher was wise, he still taught the people knowledge."—Eccl. 12. 9. "Wisdom is the principal thing, therefore get wisdom, and with all thy getting, get understanding."—Prov. 4. 7. "Buy the truth, and sell it not, also wisdom and instruction and understanding."—Ib. 23. 23. "By knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many."—Isa. 53. 11. "Wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of thy time, and strength and salvation."—Isa. 33. 6. "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord."—Hab. 2. 4. "They that understand among the people, shall instruct many."—Dan. 11. 33. "When the wise is instructed, he receiveth knowledge."—21. 11. "Take fast hold of instruction. Let her not go, keep her for she is thy life."—Prov. 4. 13. "All Scripture is profitable for instruction," &c.—2 Tim. 3. 16. "Search the Scriptures." John 5. 39.

The oft reiterated command to those who received the law of God, by Moses, was that it should be diligently taught to all the people, from generation to generation, and the last command of Christ to those who had received the gospel was—"Go teach all nations." The religion of the Bible is for all men, and it is a religion of knowledge. It requires of all men that they attain and communicate knowledge—receive and impart instruction—that they "ask wisdom of God," and communicate it to one another. Knowledge, in its largest and highest sense, is at once the means and the end, the condition and the consummation of all that God proposes or promises, requires or predicts, concerning man, in the Scriptures. The knowledge of God, of ourselves, of our duties, of our condition, of our relations to our fellow men, of the highest end of our being, all these, requiring thought, discipline, and instruction, enter vitality into the entire scheme of Redeeming Mercy, and of Divine Revelation. Knowledge, not ignorance, is the mother of the devotion inspired by it. To prohibit instruction is to prohibit the religion of the Bible. It is to do all that man can do, to destroy the human soul, the image of God, the heir of immortality, the purchase of Christ's blood. To cloud the human soul with ignorance is to prevent the light of heaven from shining into it, and shrouding it with darkness and falsehood. This is Satan's own work, and to that work the entire system of American Slavery is adapted with Satanic subtlety and malevolence. Slavery robs God by forcibly wresting from him the revenue of glory justly due to him from the millions of immortal souls whose knowledge, wisdom, virtue, and holiness should be devoted to his service, but whose ignorance, barbarism, vice, and sensuality now plunge them into the depths of sin and debasement.

Slavery not only does this to the slaves, but in a measure, to the surrounding population, and to the slaveholders themselves. No injury can be inflicted upon a portion of the community, without inflicting an injury upon the entire community, including the aggressors. The same necessity of the Slave System that requires the enforced ignorance of the slaves, requires, almost equally, the suppression of free inquiry, free speech, and a free press, among the people at large. And this is a source of intellectual and moral deterioration, against which no amount of previous culture, or of literary advantages or leisure, can successfully and permanently contend. The decline of the slave States has been marked and rapid. The ignorance and vices of the great mass of the white population, are proverbial and unquestioned. The educated class, small in number, dare not, or will not, among themselves, discuss those great principles of Truth, Righteousness, Mercy, and Freedom, that are taught in the Scriptures, and, losing sight of these, there is no amount or kind of learning that can preserve their Statesmen and Theologians from the extremes of folly and madness. The slave States are becoming barbarous and heathenized, a region of despotism and lawlessness, in which neither life nor property enjoy the protection of the law. The Scriptures abound in graphic descriptions of the state of society, in "the dark places of the earth." And perhaps there are few portions of the world, at the present day, to which those descriptions, would better apply than to our slave States; thus affording clear and forcible proof that the Bible is against slavery.

But slavery not only prohibits the education of its victims, but prohibits, likewise, the free exercise of religious liberty and of social worship, among them.

In Georgia, by act of 1792, it is provided that "No congregation or company of negroes shall, under pretense of divine worship, assemble themselves contrary to the Act regulating patrols."—(Prince's Digest, 342.) The Act alluded to passed in 1770, forbids slaves to assemble "on pretense of feasting," &c., "and any constable, on direction of a justice, is commanded to disperse any assembly or meeting of slaves which may disturb the peace," &c., and "every slave which may be found at such meeting, as aforesaid, shall and may be order of such justice, immediately to be corporated, WITHOUT TRIAL, by receiving, on the bare back, twenty-five stripes, with a whip, switch, or cow-skin," &c.—(Prince's Digest, 447.)

In South Carolina, in 1800, in the same Act against education, already cited, is the following: "It shall not be lawful for any number of slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizos, even in company with white persons, to meet together and assemble for the purpose of mental instruction, or religious worship, either before the rising of the sun, or after the going down of the same. And all magistrates, sheriffs, militia officers, &c., are hereby vested with power, &c., for dispersing such assemblies."—(2 Brevard's Digest, 254-5.)

This was afterwards modified, allowing religious meetings, before nine o'clock in the evening, provided a majority of them shall be white persons!" How is the colored man to know, before hand, how many white persons will attend?

"In Virginia, all evening meetings are unequivocally forbidden."—Stroud, p. 94. Jay. 137. 1 Revised Code of 1819, pp. 424-5.

There are similar enactments in other slave States. The Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, in 1834, said, "Slavery deprives its subjects, in a great measure, of the privileges of the gospel." "The law, as it is here does not prevent free access to the Scriptures, but ignorance, the natural result of their condition, does. The Bible is before them, but it is, to them, a sealed book. Very few of them enjoy the benefits of a regular gospel ministry." Some have proposed missionaries for the slaves, but the Synod says the community will never sustain this measure, "until they are ripe for emancipation."

The Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, in 1833 said: "There are over two millions of human beings, in the condition of heathens, and some of them in a worse condition. They may justly be considered the HEA THEN of this country, and will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world. The negro is destitute of the gospel AND EVER WILL BE, under the present condition of things."

Further particulars might be added, from the same testimony, and also from Bishop Meade of Virginia, Rev. C. C. Jones, of Georgia, the Lexington Western Seminary, &c., &c., fully confirming the preceding statements.

By a well known law of cause and effect this enforced

ignorance, barbarism, and heathenism of the colored race, reacts upon the whites. The degradation of the laboring class becoming a leaven to the community in general. The vices of the slaves, like their ignorance, are communicated to the great majority of the whites. As freedom of speech and of the press cannot exist in a slave State, so the means of education and of religious instruction cannot be provided for the great mass of the community, whether white or colored, whether bond or free. The character of slavery is seen in its effects. The tree is known by its fruits. This remark may be illustrated in the particular which will be mentioned, in our next chapter.

For the Principia.

WAY-MARKS IN THE MORAL WAR WITH SLAVERY.

BY REV. HENRY T. CHURCH.

NO. XXI.

In all the moral war with slavery, nothing has been elicited more pertinent and wise, than the late letter of that suffering servant of God, John G. Fee, to the annual meeting of the American Missionary Association. It should be read, marked, and inwardly digested, by every Christian minister,—especially, and not less, by every member of the Christian Church. The attention of the churches everywhere, ought to be drawn to its positions, and its suggestions should be calmly and willingly weighed by all the professed people of God.

Now, that the Southern church and ministry, in all its branches, is being carried away with that wind of doctrine, the *Divinity of Slavery*, and with the right and expediency of secession, in order to practice and enjoy slaveholding free from molestation, there ought to be a united and mighty movement in the North, by all the people of God, to protest against it, and to take the question out of the hands of politicians, into the bosom of the church, to be settled and disposed of there, according to the principles and precepts of the Word of God.

The people having pronounced politically, as they had a right to do, against the extension of slavery, the churches should now take in hand, religiously, the practice of *slaveholding*, and deal with it faithfully in the spirit of the apostolic precept. "Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them." Who knows but it may be still in the power of Northern ministers and churches to save the country from bloodshed and anarchy, by taking the question of slavery out of the sphere of politics, where it only maddens, and transferring the conflict to the church, where it rightfully belongs, as the great moral question of the age.*

This would have been done, long ago, but for the fatal prevalence of the policy of conservatism and expediency, which Mr. Fee, justly says, has not only been a failure, so far as the great sin of the land, [slavery] is concerned, but has even intensified the evil.

When Southern Presbyterians first took the position of the Charleston Union Presbytery, that the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in His holy Word,—and when Southern Baptists took the position of the Charleston Baptist Association, viz.: that the Holy Scriptures have not made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all:—and when the Georgia Methodist Conference resolve, that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil:—and when the Protestant Episcopal Society for the advancement of Christianity, declared in a Tract, that without a new revelation from heaven no man is authorized to pronounce slavery wrong—And

*If, as we hope, our Correspondent means that the ministers and churches ought to take the question of slavery out of the hands of the selfish politicians who have been making capital out of it, to get themselves into office, while, at the same time, they have been equally successful in winning votes by promising to execute the Fugitive Slave bill, and to let slavery alone where it exists, we agree with him perfectly, thus far. The churches and ministry ought to repent of having, to any extent, helped by their votes, to put the question of slavery into their hands. But we hold that no mere proclamation, by the churches and ministry, of the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, and no mere withdrawal of religious and ecclesiastical fellowship from slaveholders, will fully meet and honor their responsibilities, unless they likewise deliver faithfully, God's messages to the people and their rulers, commanding them to choose just rulers, who will rule in the fear of God, judge the people with just judgment, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof—taking care to vote in accordance with their preaching.—Editor.

when Rev. James Smylie of Mississippi, endorsed by two Presbyterians, maintained that the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus clearly and unequivocally establishes the fact that slavery was sanctioned by God himself, then was the time for the ministers and churches of the North, to have rebuked this great heresy, and to have stayed its progress, by the Scriptural method of withholding fellowship from those who maintain it, as being incompatible with Christianity †

But now slavery has been allowed to advance unrebuted in its madness, except by a despised minority in the ministry and churches, stigmatized as fanatics, and to usurp the chief seats in the Synagogues of Church and State, until, when the howl is heard from ambitious politicians, for secession, and a separate slaveholding confederacy, the church and ministry, which should be, in the best sense, conservative, and should correct popular errors and excesses, strike hands with the selfish oligarchy of slaveholders, and declare, in a late letter of a leading minister of the Baptist denomination, and Professor in the South Carolina College, as follows:

"The conflict is between Divine Revelation and human reason—between the Providence of God, and the devices of man. Our institutions [slavery] are scriptural, sanctioned by the practice of patriarchs and prophets, and the precepts of the Savior. The fanaticism that assails us, is the product of infidelity, of rebellion against God, that presumes to be wiser than the Scriptures, and would substitute its disorganizing dogmas of liberty and equality for the conservative teachings of the New Testament. We Southern ministers are the only preachers who proclaim an unmitigated Bible. Northern ministers have suppressed or perverted its teachings, and dare not say, "Servants be obedient to your own masters," &c. In this view, the struggle upon which we have entered, assumes the grandeur of a divine mission. We are the champions of God's truth, and he who falls in the struggle, falls a "blessed martyr." How fortunate is it that our duty to our country coincides with our duty to God, and patriotism is sublimated into religion! I feel that God is with us."

How forcibly are the positions of Mr. Fee's letter illustrated by the facts, which show the present state of the public mind, and of the representative men of Southern Christianity, in the secession States. The old Boards, he says,

"Have claimed, that they can only go quietly along and spread the Gospel, that will silently kill slavery. Popular sins, entrenched behind law, and panoplied by a popular religion, are not sapped that way. The issue being made, the silence of conservative Boards and their missions, is always construed into consent."

(See the whole of Mr. Fee's letter, in the *Principia* of Nov. 17, page 419.)

Mr. Fee takes the ground of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, that the church and the ministry, should form the conscience of the nation in respect to slavery, and should make it loyal to the law of God, against all unjust judgments of Courts, and unrighteous legislation of Congress: that the Word of God is our charter for freedom, and our armory against slavery; that the Lord God sanctions slavery, is practical infidelity. That ultimate success is sure, in the warfare with oppression, to a faithful ministry and a witnessing church.

"True Christian sentiment," says Mr. Fee, "must precede right political action." The Wesleyan Conference of West Wisconsin, expressed the same sentiment, when it said that "moral suasion must prepare the way for political action" (see *Principia* of Nov. 24, page 429.)

Why, now, should not Christians at the North, the friends of a pure and faithfully applied Gospel, take occasion of the trying ordeal through which the country is now passing on account of slavery, to meet in Conventions and Christian Mass Meetings, in order to declare and argue the duties of Christianity and the Church, towards the oppressed and the oppressor? Why should not churches everywhere form themselves into Church Anti-Slavery Societies, on the basis of the Declaration of Principles put forth at Worcester, in order to record and perpetuate their honest testimony against slavery.

And why, at such a solemn time in the history of our

† The time for the Ministers and Churches of the North to have rebuked this great heresy, was, when Prof. Hodge of Princeton, N. J., Pres. Flack, of Middletown, Conn., and Prof. Stuart of Andover, Mass., commenced preaching it, before it had ever been heard of, at the South, according to the testimony of many Southern ministers and church members.—Editor.

country and in the destiny of the enslaved African race, multiplying so rapidly in the South, should not the earnest recommendation of the Church Anti-Slavery Society be adopted, for the observance of a monthly concert of prayer for the enslaved?

In the few instances where this practice has been adopted, the meeting has been made one of intense interest and profit to Pastor and people, and it proves also an effective means of guiding the conscience in behalf of the oppressed, and of aiding in the fulfilment of the Scriptural injunction to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.

Why should not a cordon of such prayer meetings be stretched around the South, to deprecate monthly, the Divine displeasure which seems to be gathering and glooming over the region of slaves, and to educate the Christian mind into the principles of Freedom, and the people's sensibilities into sympathy with the oppressed?

If what *The Independent* says is true, that in keeping alive a strong and healthy public sentiment against slavery no agency can be compared with that of ministers and church members in New England, New York, and the West, then why should not these ministers and church members be called upon, now, to unite in some concert of action and prayer against the sin which they in common deplore?

Although a society be but a "donkey engine," would not such a concert "furnish a new motive power towards the progress of the cause of emancipation?" And will not *The Independent* urge upon its thousands of ministers and church members east and west, such a definite expression of their Anti-Slavery desires and principles, although it may deem it "quite superfluous to form a society in New England for the purpose of arousing its ministers and Christians generally to their duty in opposition to slavery?"

Now is the time for Christians of all denominations to move together in the spirit and power of Whither's stirring lines:

If we have whispered truth, whisper no longer;
Speak as the tempest does, sterner and stronger.
Still be the tones of truth louder and firmer.
Startling the haughty South with the deep murmur
God and our charters right, freedom for ever,
Truce with Oppression? never, No, never!

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

NO. XXII.

HOW CAN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ABOLISH SLAVERY?

Since answering this question in a former article we have encountered the following objection against Federal abolition. It has been urged that the Federal Constitution does not authorize the Federal Judiciary to interfere in any question between a State Government and persons within its own jurisdiction, and as such is the question of slavery, it cannot be reached by the Federal Judiciary. The objection is "short-sighted." It does not occur to the objector that when a State enslaves a person within its own jurisdiction, that person is also under the laws of the Federal Union, and consequently entitled, as a citizen of the U. States, to Federal protection. The slaveholder, too, is a citizen of the U. States as well as a State citizen. And since in depriving another citizen of liberty, he acts without any State authority recognized by the Constitution, his act must be judicially considered as personal, and not as an act in which the State is a party. He ought therefore to be treated as one citizen of the United States depriving another of liberty, without right and without due process of law. All questions of law and equity between one citizen of the United States and another citizen of the United States, are of course in the hands of the Federal Judiciary. Now, let us see the effect.

A has got B into his possession and is depriving him of liberty. C is a Federal judge. His mind is much under the influence of fundamental principles. He knows that all men have rights, that government is bound to protect rights, that it has no authority whatever to violate them or even to connive at their violation. He has sense enough to do his own thinking. He goes to the Constitution itself to know what the Constitution means, and has no notion of putting his understanding and conscience under the guidance of any court claiming a monopoly of constitutional exposition. He regards the Constitution as honestly stating its own purpose, and not as a deceitful instrument favoring tyranny.

In his view it is entirely an instrument of right. The case of A and B comes to his knowledge. As a Federal judge, he looks at the case with Federal eyes, he sees two citizens of the United States, one depriving the other of liberty, and is determined to know whether it is by right and due process of law. A writ of habeas corpus is issued, and A appears with B pleading a right of property under a State right of sovereignty. A right of sovereignty to deprive an innocent man, a citizen of the United States of liberty! Judge C has not learned his theory of State rights in the school of slavery, and is not fool enough to believe in such a right. How can a State disregarding right and authorizing its violation, maintain a claim of sovereignty on the ground of right? He knows, too, that if a right against right, a right of a State to violate individual rights, were possible, it could not exist in a Confederacy formed expressly for justice, nor under a supreme law guarding liberty and rights.

Judge C further understands that State rights are nothing more or less than the rights of the people of a State. He deems it an act against the peace and dignity of a State, to enslave one of its people. Of course, he regards slaveholders as the worst violators of State rights. He deems the Union the guardian both of State rights and the people's rights. Therefore he orders the discharge of B. This is an act of Federal abolition, and, at the same time it is an act defensive of State Rights.

How completely armed at every point with defensive argument is the radical abolition theory! No wonder it courts examination and seeks to be known to all. How unlike the cowardly, self-distrusting theory which finds security only in hushing agitation!

I. S.

ence of Henry Clay, removed some of the most odious and repulsive features of the domestic traffic, for greater security of slave property. No other change that we know of, has been made.—EDITOR.

FROM REV. J. C. WEBSTER.

HOPKINTON, Mass., Dec. 11, 1860.

DEAR MR. GOODELL.—I thank the Lord every Monday morning, when I receive the Principia that He still spares your life to develop the true principles of ethics and religion, especially in their application to our great national crime of slavery. But I think they are doing hardly less good in correcting a superficial theology, which has begotten a superficial morality throughout our land. For the purity of our morality must depend upon a true and vital theology.

I heartily wish somebody would give you an endowment of \$100,000 to put your valuable sheet into a larger form, and enable you to send it broad cast over the whole land.

I am about sick of this political and ineffectual skirmishing on the great question of freedom, because, as a moral question, it lacks the solid basis essential to success. The Christians of our land have not taken up the question on its true issue, as a sin against God, and therefore inconsistent with religious character. Consequently as you rightly say, in your last Principia, "the South" in the present conflict, have the advantage, and will maintain it. Slavery must be inherently sinful or it is not sinful at all. And if it is not sinful, that is, in itself innocent, the "South" is in the right and the "North" in the wrong. And the whole contest must prove abortive, unless there is enough of the moral and religious element mingled with it to keep it up till a higher vantage ground can be obtained.

You shall have my prayers. I wish I could let you have more money, which is as important in its place as prayer. Enclosed are \$2, for the ensuing year. Yours truly,

J. C. WEBSTER.

From our own Correspondent.

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Dec. 15, 1860.

We are going out of the Union with colors flying and drums beating. We defy the Federal Government to stop us. We are going in our own time and manner; we choose for ourselves the order of our going, and will take our baggage with us. We have already the United States Arsenal, with its 73,000 stand of arms and appointments, in our possession, and we will take Fort Moultrie, Fort Sumter, and Castle Pinckney, whenever it suits our policy so to do. We have got the General Government under our thumb and it dare not re-enforce the Forts. We use the Administration at will. For upward of a month we have held the seventy men at Fort Moultrie, as hostages for the good conduct of the Government. Not only will we take the Forts when we want them, and in doing so shoot down the garrison to the very last man, if they are audacious enough to resist, but we will appropriate to our own use the Custom-House, Post-Office, and other property, without even so much as asking leave of the Government. The Administration knows this; we have told them of it as plainly as acts can speak, and yet they dare not say a word or move a single step. If we cannot make our enemies to praise us, we certainly have compelled the Administration to help us. And thus are we going out of the Union with drums beating and flags flying!—Tribune.

FOREIGN SENTIMENT ON A COTTON CONFEDERACY.—The Richmond correspondent of the Pittsburgh *Express* is unpleasantly affected by the tone of the English and French papers. He says:

"The comments of the English press on the election of Lincoln must convince us of the South that *Great Britain* would be a most unstable reliance for a Cotton Confederacy, should a superior Power threaten the security of the latter. Without exception, the English journals rejoice at the result of the Presidential campaign, as indicative of the ultimate extinction of negro slavery in America."

"The French press, too, so far as it has spoken out on the subject of Lincoln's election, gives us little to hope from the friendly feeling of France, even if looking to Louis Napoleon for protection would not be like giving the lamb to the wolf. Such vulpine intimacy is to be regarded with immense distrust, considering the character of the Emperor."

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1860.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT.

We cannot better present to our readers a view of the "irrepressible conflict" now going on, than by making some extracts from a few of the newspapers before us, one morning, with some remarks of our own, in relation to them.

I. Not the least apposite to the real nature of the "pending crisis of the South," among the many suggestions lately thrown out for Northern action, is that a clear, strong and hearty manifestation be made in some way, on the part of Republicans especially, of the stern determination to put down servile insurrection, and protect the homes of the South, which ninety-nine in every hundred Northern men, are ready to express on any occasion that may call for it. There is reason to believe that it is just here that the South really fear the North will fail them.—*N. Y. Sun.*

"The Almighty has no attributes that could take sides with us, in such a contest.—*Jefferson.*

II. The Columbia (S. C.) *Guardian* publishes a letter from Judge Longstreet, in which that jurist declares that Congress has the constitutional power to prohibit the exportation of all the products of slave labor, and urges South Carolina to secede before the Abolitionists have time to pass a law to that effect. He adds: as the Abolitionists have never thought of this, I would not remind them of it, for all this world's treasure, if I were sure the Southern States would remain in the Union.

Well. The Abolitionists have now the benefit of Judge Longstreet's testimony, gratis, whether the slave States remain in the Union or no. We have often remarked that Southern statesmen understand the anti-slavery character of the Constitution, as well as do the Radical Abolitionists, and we must confess that, in this particular application of it, we are indebted to Judge Longstreet for a new idea which we have never before thought of, or met with in the writings of any Abolitionist. It is doubtless correct, being included in the power of Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."—Art. I, Sect. VIII, Clause 1.

III. A letter that appears in the Charleston *Mercury*, dated at Lowell, Mass., declares that nothing should satisfy the South, short of amendments to the Constitution that would make slavery legal and perpetual in every State in the Union, and upon all the territory, both present and future, of the United States. In the opinion of the writer, the passage of such amendments are not only possible, but probable.

This does not surprise us. We have repeatedly told our readers that the controversy must come to this, and could not stop short of it. Yes. We have politicians and D. Ds, in New York and New England, who will go for slavery in all the States, foreign slave trade and all, rather than go for the abolition of slavery in all the States. The sooner they shew their hand, the better. When that time comes, there will be but two parties, and we have little fear for the result. With the concession that the present Constitution is anti-slavery (which is plainly implied in the above proposal,) it would be hard work to get the Northern people to consent to a pro-slavery one—especially after the promulgation of the Southern doctrine, by Calhoun, Pickens, McDuffie, Hammond, Dew, Fitzhugh, &c., that slavery is the proper condition of the laboring people, irrespective of race or color.

IV. "The crisis has not yet produced the man able to steer the ship of State safely through the present storm. Necessity seems, in this case, unable to create the requisite genius: and it appears as if the world was about to witness the deplorable fact of a great nation being lost, for want of a single statesman with the genius to suggest, and the influence to apply a remedy to the evils that are falling upon the Republic. The present state of suspense, before any State has taken the irrevocable step, is the only opportunity to preserve the integrity of the Union; and so far, it is being frittered away, without any progress towards the adjustment of the difficulty that threatens to break the Republic into atoms, being made. The hopes of millions of our race, in all parts of the world, hang upon the issue; and unfortunately it cannot be said that time brings any improvement of the prospect."—*Toronto U. C. Leader.*

The N. Y. Sun confesses that there is, apparently, too much truth in the above.

True. "The man able to steer the ship of State safely during the present storm," must needs believe in the Bible, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, as interpreted in the light of these, and in the practicability of doing right, under all circumstances whatever.

V. The Philadelphia *Ledger* says,

"If, as one nation, we are unable to get along, what is to enable us to do this at two nations? Let us suppose that American mechanics had been expelled from Canada, as they have from South Carolina, or whipped and otherwise insulted and sent home, as they have from Savannah, how long would Canada have remained uninvaded?

If disunion were to occur, we should want, of course, the free navigation of the Mississippi, and New Orleans as a free city. But how long could boats run without collision or strife? Slaves would secrete themselves on board, or the boats would be suspected, and force and bloodshed would result.

"Secession cannot be peaceable in its results for six months. At all events a *clear plan* showing how this is to be the result, ought to be wrought out to the satisfaction of both the whole North and South, before the United States Government gives up an inch of ground or a particle of the advantage in the shape of forts which she now possesses, to keep the peace."

The Philadelphia *Ledger* is right. Division of the States would not heal the "irrepressible conflict." It must go on, until either slavery or freedom is established over the whole continent. Reader! on which side are you to be counted?

VI. High pressure, moral as well as mechanical, is the rule in America, and threats of civil war may be used there in a strictly parliamentary sense. But if this rough sparring should by any chance be carried too far, and the threat so often uttered in jest or wantonness should be repeated in earnest, and lead to bloodshed, it is some comfort that the aggressors will not be the stronger party. Mr. Lincoln will in that case command a majority in Congress, and will carry with him the support of all those who, however tolerant of slavery, will not tamely acquiesce in its becoming the basis of an illegal and hostile Confederation.—*London Times.*

There is something in the above, to think of. The slave States have always demurred against allowing the emancipation of the slaves of Cuba, lest it should affect the stability of American slavery. Is not the stability of freedom, of equal importance to the free States?

VII. Let us dismiss from view the sufficiency or insufficiency of the reasons alleged by the South for secession. Let us inquire what ought to be done, in case a State, with grievances which really made the Union intolerable, should insist on going. In other words, what remedy is there against the tyranny of a majority of the States over the minority? The Supreme Court is not a sufficient barrier, for a compact majority of the States would in the long run, control the organization of the court, by appointing all the judges. A compact majority of the States would ultimately mould all the departments of the government into subserviency to its will. But the tyranny of majorities is the most intolerable of all tyranny. One of the chief duties of government is the protection of minorities. If the federal compact does not already afford them adequate security; if, in the progress of events, we have reached a point where a defect is disclosed in the guarantees of that instrument, a way is still opened out of the difficulty in the provision the Constitution makes for its own amendment.

We know enough of the public sentiment of the country to pronounce, with certainty, that any amendment is impracticable which would make greater concessions to the slaveholding interest, than are made by the compact as it stands.

We therefore submit to the consideration of the country, whether the time has not come for an amendment to the constitution providing for the peaceable secession of States.—*The N. Y. World.*

Here are several important concessions. (1.) The duty of governments to protect minorities, consequently to abolish slavery. (2.) That the Constitution in order to become pro-slavery, would have to be amended. [3.] That the people are too anti-slavery to afford it for slavery. [4.] That the pro-slavery Unionists, including "The World" are turning disunionists! But what if "the public sentiment of the country," [too anti-slavery to make the Constitution pro-slavery,] should refuse to amend the Constitution for the convenience of *The World*, and the slaveholders?

VIII. Hon. W. W. Ellsworth, ex-Gov. of Connecticut, in a letter to Senator Dixson says:

Every day I meet in my walks, gentlemen of great excellence and intelligence, who inquire, with amazement, what are the violations of the Constitution which the South complain of so much? I am obliged to say I do not know, sir.

If it is the fugitive slave law, and I hear of nothing else, let me say, if there be any wrong here it should be put right, and I have no doubt it would be. The power of Congress to provide for the restoration of fugitive slaves, is, in my opinion, not an open question, and I doubt if there be a judge in any of the higher courts of New England who would not subscribe to this opinion; and who, if called upon officially, would uphold any unlawful obstruction to its execution. There are, however, some clauses in the law [wholly unnecessary to its efficiency,] which ought to be erased from it, as being exceedingly offensive to a community of free and christian people.

What these clauses are, Ex-Gov. Ellsworth does not say. Perhaps he alludes to those that facilitate the kidnapping of free negroes, or white men, and which are "unnecessary to its efficiency in capturing fugitive slaves." Ex-Gov. Ellsworth is a deacon in Dr. Hawes' Congregational Church. We wish his pastor would preach a sermon to him from Deut. xxiii. 15-16.

"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that hath escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him."

The Doctor, perhaps, might explain which of the clauses of the Fugitive Slave Bill should be "exceedingly offensive to a free and christian people"—more than those features which make it efficient for capturing fugitive slaves.

The Deacon, however, is evidently ill at ease, in his own mind, on the subject, as will appear from the following additional extract.

And now that I am speaking of the fugitive slave law as I may, in all candor, the South do not duly consider how deeply our people are attached to personal freedom, and how it disturbs our feelings to see an industrious and innocent man, with perhaps a dependent family, seized and carried away, to serve another without reward, during his whole life. When we see this, we have to repress very greatly our deepest convictions, yet I make no question that the power is in the Constitution, and that it is our duty to yield to it. If slaves are rescued, let them be paid for, by the State.

"A community of free and christian people" we should think, would find other and better means of satisfying their sympathies and consciences, than by paying a tribute to the slaveholders for the privilege of obeying the most sacred dictates of humanity—the plainest precepts of the Bible.

We should like to see the attempt made by Ex-Gov. Ellsworth, (who has also held the office of chief justice of his State) to make out the constitutional duty of returning fugitive slaves, by any process of interpretation consistent with the general rules of interpretation, laid down by the Courts.

Should he find it impossible to do this, would he not feel himself at liberty to follow his benevolent instincts, his sense of justice, his humanity, his conscience and his Bible? Would he not assert the right of obedience to these, without paying a tax to the slaveholders, for the privilege?

IX. "The World" says—

If the present controversy should be patched up it, would be only a temporary truce. Like ulcers driven in, it would reappear in another spot with increased virulence.

We can't afford to have this thing constantly recurring. We can't afford to carry along the disease in our political system. Almost any purge is preferable, so it be thorough. Let us have some medicament that will reach the seat of the malady. No matter whether it is emetic or cathartic, the lancet or the cauterizing iron. The tortures of the most "heroic" practitioner are preferable to the disease, if he will only achieve a permanent.

And so "The World" is for a radical cure, cost what it may. So are we. And we believe a national abolition of slavery to be that radical cure. *The World*, has, however, no ideas in that direction. It invites the North and the South to unite in the "adoption of a remedy." "Ascertain the will of the people" of the South, and if they are indeed for secession, let them secede. A remedy with a vengeance! Rather than obey God by executing justice between a man and his neighbor—rather than compel the two hundred thousand slaveholders to "let" their four millions of slaves "go free," the World would have the nation fall to pieces and disband! This is the bottom of Union Saving conservatism, is it? Disunion to prevent abolition, instead of abolition to save the Union! Pretty much as we supposed it would be, whenever their professions of Union-saving should be put to the test. But what if a division of the Union should be only "patching up the controversy"? How would it dispose of the fugitive slave question? How

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would it prevent the Lynching of Northerners at the South? How would it prevent perpetual broils until slavery is abolished?

DISCUSSIONS ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT, in Rev. S. S. Johnson's Cong. Church, Williamsburgh. Last Tuesday Evening, the question "On whom do the responsibilities of Civil Government rest?" after discussion, was continued over for further consideration, on Wednesday evening next, & past 7.—

A spirited debate is expected.

News of the Day.

The state of the Country, in relation to its political and financial affairs, continues to absorb the general attention and the news departments of the journals before us are chiefly occupied with items of information on these topics, or speculations and utterances of prominent citizens, official and unofficial, in respect to them. *Facts and opinions* are become so interwoven together that it is not easy to discriminate between them. There are times—and such a time is the present—when *expressions of thought* are to be regarded as events, and the most important items of news afloat in the community, and are so regarded among the people.

Of political events, properly so called, the resignation of two members of the Federal Cabinet, Messrs. J. Howell Cobb, Secretary of the Treasury, and Gen. Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, are the principal, up to the time of our present writing.

Mr. Cobb resigned first, and the common understanding, we believe is, that he leaves the National Cabinet, for the purpose of joining in the incipient rebellion against the Federal Government now openly plotting in his own State. The resignation of Gen. Cass is thus announced by the *Herald*.

General Cass, Secretary of State, has resigned his post, and the resignation has been accepted by the President. Gen. Cass was induced to this course owing to a irreconcileable difference of opinion as to the propriety of reinforcing the garrison at Fort Moultrie, in the harbor of Charleston, the General being in favor of sending additional troops there, while the President opposed such a measure for obvious reasons.

What those obvious reasons are, the public are permitted to conjecture.

Senator C. C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama, in a long letter to the Governor of his State, tenders his resignation of his seat in the Senate after the 4th of March next, "unless the State should sooner dispense with (his) services." The tone of his letter indicates that he anticipates and justifies a secession. Among the grievances enumerated in his letter is the election of Messrs. Lincoln and Hamlin, to which he adds—

The enormity of this outrage upon us is aggravated by this abolition triumph having been effected, with the aid of the votes of negroes, who are thus recognized as the equals of the white race, and made citizens in spite of the denial of citizenship to negroes by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case.

Mr. Clay should have added that the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1787-9 by the "votes of negroes" in most if not all of the States, including Maryland and Virginia, without a question. Mr. Clay appeals to the negro hating prejudices of the Northern people, as follows—

Let the non-slaveholder as well as the slaveholder remember that that party proposes to make the negro his equal in political and social privileges—going to the polls, the witness stand, the jury box, the representatives hall, as the peer of the white man, and claiming his daughter in marriage, as is now done according to law in Massachusetts.

Why did he forget to mention that Col. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, Democratic Vice President of the United States, lived with a black woman whom he called his wife and addressed as Mrs. Johnson, admitted to his bed and board, and whose daughters he called his own, and educated and treated them accordingly. Does Mr. C. C. Clay, Jr., propose a separation of his State from Kentucky? He does his letter as follows—

As I shall not probably be able to take my seat in the Senate for several weeks, I would vacate it immediately for a successor, if I thought the State needed or desired representation in that body. But I hope and believe that she at last, after many years of patient endurance of insult and injury, has resolved to take her destiny into her own hands. Trusting that her sons will fully sustain you in the proud

and patriotic position you have taken, and will prove that they deserve the freedom they inherited from their sires and intend to transmit it, unimpaired to their children, by declaring, in each and every county in her limits, in favor of immediate secession and independence out of the Union, and against present submission and future subjection in the Union.

C. C. CLAY, JR.

Bravo! When the "proud and patriotic sons of" Alabama transmit freedom to all their children, and when all the slaveholders shall do the same, we shall witness the abolition of slavery, and the return of peace and unity to the country.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Dec. 15, 1860.

The House yesterday, by a small majority, voted in favor of adjourning the Legislature to Charleston. The Senate may concur on Monday.

But few delegates to the convention have arrived. Messrs. Cobb and Mills are here. Mr. Hooker, Commissioner from Mississippi, and Mr. Elmore, from Alabama are here.

It is the beginning and ending of all conversations that South Carolina will promptly pass an ordinance of secession, and, for weal or woe, resume the powers of sovereignty.

Considerable gloom appears to prevail among all classes at the prevalence of the small pox, deterring hundreds from visiting here.

THE GRAND JURY of the *United States* (?) for the Middle District of Alabama have presented the Federal Government as a nuisance, on account of its derelictions in respect to the slavery question. The Grand Jury should know that there are many abolitionists who agree with them; and that so far as the present Federal Administration is concerned, a majority of the people have already signified their concurrence. Should not this sympathy beget union? We remember when Southern nullifiers and Northern tariff men, patched up their quarrel, by uniting to put down President Jackson, and this was the origin and composition of the whig party.

DISTRESS IN RICHMOND, VA.—The Richmond *Whig* says hundreds of industrious mechanics in that city have been deprived of employment by the financial pressure, and that at the close of the year there will be a greater number of men idle in that city than has ever been known there before.

GOV. MAGOFFIN of Kentucky, proposes a basis of pacification, as follows:—

1. Repeal, by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, all laws in the free States in any degree nullifying or obstructing the execution of the Fugitive Slave law.

2. Amendments to said law to enforce its thorough execution in all the free States, providing compensation to the owner of the slave from the State which fails to deliver him up under the requirements of the law, or throws obstacles in the way of his recovery.

3. The passage of a law by Congress compelling the Governors of the free States to return fugitives from justice indicted by a Grand Jury in another State for stealing or enticing away a slave.

4. To amend the Constitution so as to divide all the Territories now belonging to the United States, or hereafter to be acquired, between the free and the slave States, say upon the line of the thirty-seventh degree of North latitude—all North of that line to come into the Union, with the requisite population, as free States, and all South of the same to come in as slave States.

5. To amend the Constitution so as to guarantee forever to all the States the free navigation of the Mississippi river.

6. To alter the constitution so as to give the South the power, say in the United States Senate, to protect itself from unconstitutional and oppressive legislation upon the subject of slavery.

B. MAGOFFIN.

Does not Gov. Magoffin know that every proposal of this kind is a proposal to open anew the agitation of the slavery question in every school district school house in the free States, with this virtual concession to the radical political abolitionists, that the present Constitution is anti-slavery and must first be amended, before Fugitive Slave bills can be made constitutional—and before the Personal Liberty bills of the States can be set aside as unconstitutional?

MANIFESTO FROM SENATOR TOOMBS.

AUGUSTA, Ga., Saturday, Dec. 15.

It is understood that Senator Toombs is about leaving for Washington. He has just published a letter in reference to the fifth article of the Constitution. He says, the Constitution should be amended, and the amendments should be such as neither could be evaded nor resisted by the Abolition States, and such as would give full and ample security to Southern rights. He adds, that if the Republican Party will vote for these amendments, or even a majority vote in good faith in favor of them, they can easily be carried through Congress, and then he thinks it would be reasonable

and fair to postpone final action by the Southern States until the Legislatures of the Northern States could be conveniently called together for definite action or amendment in regard to the Personal Liberty bills. If the Northern States refuse to acquiesce in this, then he urges Georgia to secede at the latest by the 4th of March.

Here we have it again! *Amend the Constitution*, so as to make it pro-slavery, and then Mr. Toombs and the State of Georgia, along with Gov. Magoffin and the State of Kentucky—aye, and South Carolina, no doubt will consent to remain in the Union. So we supposed. Only let the Republicans in Congress vote for the amendments, and all will be well—that is, if the people of the North can be cajoled by them, and acquiesce in the new "compromise." It is becoming more apparent that the rage and bluster at the South is got up for effect—to operate upon Congress, and upon the people of the North. Will it succeed? We shall see.

And here comes another part of the ruse.

AHAB PROCLAIMS A FAST:

A DAY OF FASTING AND PRAYER.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES—A RECOMMENDATION.

Numerous appeals have been made to me by pious and patriotic associations and citizens, in view of the present distracted and dangerous condition of our country, to recommend that a day be set apart for Humiliation, Fasting and Prayer throughout the Union. In compliance with their request, and my own sense of duty, I designate Friday, the 4th day of January, 1861, for this purpose, and recommend that the people assemble on that day according to their several forms of worship, to keep it as a solemn Fast.

The Union of the States is at the present moment threatened with alarming and immediate danger—panic and distress of fearful character prevail throughout the land—our laboring population are without employment, and consequently deprived of the means of earning their bread—indeed, hope seems to have deserted the minds of men. All classes are in a state of confusion and dismay; and the wisest counsels of our best and purest men are wholly disregarded.

In this, the hour of our calamity and peril, to whom shall we resort for relief but to the God of our Fathers? His Omnipotent Arm only can save us from the awful effects of our own crimes and follies—our own ingratitude and guilt towards our Heavenly Father.

Let us then, with deep contrition and penitent sorrow, unite in humbling ourselves before the Most High, in confessing our individual and national sins, and in acknowledging the justice of our punishment. Let us implore Him to remove from our hearts that false pride of opinion which would impel us to persevere in wrong for the sake of consistency, rather than yield a just submission to the unforeseen exigencies by which we are now surrounded. Let us with deep reverence, beseech Him to restore the friendship and good will which prevailed, in former days, among the people of the several States; and above all, to save us from the horrors of civil war and "blood-guiltiness." Let our fervent prayers ascend to His Throne, that He would not desert us in this hour of extreme peril, but remember us as He did our fathers in the darkest days of the Revolution, and preserve our Constitution and our Union, the work of their hands, for ages yet to come. An Omnipotent Providence may overrule existing evils for permanent good. He can make the wrath of man to praise Him, and the remainder of wrath He can restrain. Let me invoke every individual, in whatever sphere of life he may be placed, to feel a personal responsibility to God and his country for keeping this day holy, and for contributing all in his power to remove our actual and impending calamities.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14, 1860.

"Horrors of civil war? Blood guiltiness?—And these are deprecated, forsaken, by the President who sent Federal troops to Kansas, to help the border ruffians butcher the free settlers, and establish slavery, proclaiming, in his Kansas Message, that Kansas "was a Slave State, as truly so, as Georgia and South Carolina," upon the principle that slaves are property by a tenure above and before all constitutions and laws—which would carry it into every State in the Union, in despite of all constitutions and statutory laws of the people.

By the side of Mr. Buchanan's Proclamation for a fast, let us record and listen to the word of God, by the mouth of his inspired prophet Isaiah—the same prophet from whom Jesus Christ cited his commission, as the Messiah, to "proclaim liberty to the captives."

"Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins. Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God. They ask of me the ordinances of justice, they take delight in approaching to God. Wherefore have we fasted, say they, and thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our soul, and thou takest no knowledge?—Behold, ye fast, for strife, and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness. Ye shall not fast, as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high. Is it such a fast that I have chosen? a day for a man to afflict his soul? is it to bow down his head, as a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord?

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of the human blood-hounds, the Republicans have purchased from the House, its certificate of the safety of permitting the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln!

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION, AGAIN.

Mr. John Cochrane offered a preamble setting forth that a conflict of opinion, threatening the peace and harmony of the Union, has risen, concerning the true intent and meaning of that part of the constitution in relation to African slavery within the territory of the United States, and that the opinion of the majority of the Supreme Court of the United States, as delivered by Chief Justice Taney, recognizing property as slaves, etc., should be received as the settlement of the question, as therein discussed and decided.

Mr. Cochrane also proposed, as an amendment of the constitution, that Congress shall have the power to establish governments for any territory, and that the people therein, having adopted a state constitution, may be admitted into the Union, and that neither Congress nor the people during their territorial condition shall pass a law to annul or impair the right of property therein. Referred to a select committee.

So we have also Mr. Cochrane's virtual admission that the present constitution is anti-slavery. This, he must have learned from his uncle, GERRIT SMITH, if in no other way.

AND HERE COMES ANOTHER:

Mr. LANE [Dem., Oregon] introduced the following resolutions:

Whereas, in 1847 and 1848, the Northern States adopted a resolution in favor of the Wilmot Proviso, and the Southern States adopted counter resolutions declaring that they would resist the measure;

Whereas, in 1850 Compromise measures were passed agreeing that the people of the Territories should decide the question of slavery;

Whereas, by the late election the Northern States reaffirmed their former position that Slavery be excluded;

Whereas, a number of Southern States, regarding this action as destructive of the equality of the State and their rights in the common Territories, have indicated their purpose to dissolve their political connection, and as such a result would be disastrous to both sections, if attended with civil war, and perhaps with horrors never before recorded;

Whereas, it appears that the present system of government is inadequate to the exigency of the times;

Whereas, in similar difficulties our fathers met to adopt a new plan of government—Therefore;

Resolved, That the several States be requested to send Commissioners or delegates to consult on the present times; that the Southern States be requested to meet together previously, and decide on conditions necessary to their peace and safety, and submit their opinions to the delegates from the Northern States; further,

Resolved, That it is contrary to religion and the spirit of the age for the Government to interfere in any way with my steps the States may agree to adopt; further.

Resolved, That the Federal Government will abstain from the employment of any force aggressive toward my State, and if there is any danger of a collision, the Federal forces and State forces be promptly withdrawn.

Mr. DOUGLAS (Dem. Ill.) suggested that they be laid over, and that all such resolutions be referred to the Committee of Thirteen when raised.

The resolutions were laid over.

The above is a plain declaration that the slaveholders demand a new Constitution, for the protection of slavery, because the present constitution is inadequate to the exigency.

And the proposal, in the closing Resolution is nothing less, in reality, than a proposal to disband the National Government. A national abolition of slavery, under the present Constitution, is evidently, the main danger feared.

A Congressional endorsement of our doctrine of the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution seems in progress—to far, at least, as the Democrats are concerned. What the Republicans will do, remains to be seen. We notice they generally followed the Democrats as nearly as they can, without treading upon them.

AND YET AGAIN!

Mr. Sickles (dem.) of New York, offered an amendment to the 8th article of the Constitution. It was referred to the Committee of Thirty Three.

Mr. Crawford, [dem. of Ga.] offered a resolution, declaring that the constitution recognized property in slaves; that Congress has passed laws to aid slaveholders in re-capturing their slaves whenever they escape and make their way into the free states; that the Supreme Court has decided that negroes are not included either in the Declaration of Independence or in the constitution, except as slaves; that they cannot become citizens; and we, the members of the House of Representatives, will sustain and support the construction of the constitution, the laws, and the said decision of the Supreme Court.

AND ANOTHER STILL:

Mr. Florence submitted the following: Resolved, &c., that the following amendments be proposed to the constitution of the United States.

"The right of property in slaves is recognized, and no law shall be passed, and nothing shall be done, to impair, obstruct or prevent, the full and free enjoyment and use of such right in any territory or other property of the United States."

THE CONSTITUTION IN THE SENATE.

The Senate has entered upon the task of devising a compromise for the settlement of the slavery question. A select Committee on the subject was ordered in that body yesterday, and Mr. Crittenden submitted a series of amendments to the Constitution, of which the leading feature was the adoption of the Missouri Compromise line extended to the Pacific. North of that line slavery is to be prohibited—South of it slaves are to be protected by authority of the Federal Government as property. Fugitive slaves are to be paid for, if rescued—Congress to reimburse the owner, and look to the county where the rescue occurs for reimbursement. And sundry fresh guarantees are to be given for the security of slavery in the States, and in the District of Columbia, and for the immunity of the domestic slave trade from interference.—Times.

POSTSCRIPT.

Thursday Morning.—The Telegraph brings important news. "The South Carolina Convention has unanimously adopted an Ordinance declaring the Union dissolved. The U. S. arms in Charleston arsenal are delivered to the City Authorities. The Commander at Fort Moultrie has received instructions from President Buchanan to surrender." This last item needs confirmation.

OBITUARY.

THE LATE TIMOTHY STOWE.

The following resolutions were passed at the table of the Lord's Supper in the church of Peterboro, November 11th, 1860.

GERRIT SMITH.

Resolved, that it is with deep emotion that the Church of Peterboro, hears of the death of its former Pastor, Timothy Stowe: and that here, whilst sitting around the table of the Lord's Supper where he so often sat with us, we recall the sweet virtues of our beloved brother, his Christ-like spirit and Christ-like life, and commend them afresh to our own hearts and to the hearts of others.

Resolved, that we tenderly sympathize with the bereaved wife and son, and fervently pray that the God and Savior and Comforter of their departed one may ever be their own God and Savior and Comforter.

[The above would have appeared earlier in the Principia, but for the failure of the copy first sent, to reach us.]

Died, at Riga, Monroe Co., (N. Y.) Dec. 4th, Dea. Nelson A. Frost, aged nearly 60. His disease was congestion of the lungs, and dropsy, combined. For some two weeks he had been convinced that he would not recover. The prospect of death did not appear to disconcert him, in the least. He showed a calmness and a trust in Christ, which abundantly evidenced his readiness to depart.

He had no visions and no ecstacies, and he said he did not expect any, and did not ask any.

He told us that his only regret was that he had not more uniformly maintained a higher degree of personal piety, and spirituality. Sometimes he had been too formal in his duties.

Mr Butler, a minister, asked him a few days before he died, what he thought, now, of the position he had taken on the various Reforms, whether he now saw anything in that direction to regret. His reply, in substance, was "I do not see that I have done anything more than my duty. All I have done seems to me the necessary result of being a Christian. In becoming a Christian I understood that it included every thing. I have never done it from any selfish motive, nor desired to oppose or hurt the feeling of any one."—In this he seems to have expressed the great ruling principle of his life. He did not love strife nor wish to differ from others—but he did love God and God's truth and cause, supremely.

He did not vote, at the last election. His health was quite poor then,—yet he would have been found at the polls that day if he had desired to give his vote for Lincoln. His type of anti-slavery could not thus have found expression.

Died in Brooklyn, N. Y. Dec. 12, Mrs. Sarah Martin, in the 77th year of her age, lamented and honored by all who knew her. Her untiring perseverance, uniform kindness, patient endurance, habitual cheerfulness, and buoyant hopefulness, sustained her and illuminated her pathway, through a long life of usefulness, in the midst of the cares and the loneliness of a protracted widowhood, honoring her Christian profession and rendering her an example and an ornament of the religion which manifests itself chiefly in the loving discharge of the every day duties of life. Her memory will long be cherished by a wide circle of friends.

Family Miscellany.

For the Principia.

THANKSGIVING DIALOGUE.

(As spoken by little Annie Russell, and Johnny Gleason, at the Thanksgiving festival of the Williamsburg Industrial school, 1860.)

Jonny. Annie, do you know it's Thanksgiving to-day,
And we're going to have lots of good things,
Turkey, and chicken, and pies; right away,
Just as soon as the dinner bell rings?

Annie. Yes, Jonny, didn't I see the table a setting,
And didn't I peep through the crack?
O ! the heaps and heaps of goodies they're getting,
Enough to make your lips smack!

Jonny. But, Annie, what makes it Thanksgiving to-day,
And why all these things are they getting,
And why so kind and so pleasant are they?
I wish every day was Thanksgiving!

Annie. Why, Jonny, Thanksgiving day comes once a year,
And it means giving thanks, don't you see?
And all, all the folks, from the big ones here,
To the little ones, like you and me,

Must kneel and give thanks to the great God above,
For all the good things that he sends us;
For His kindness, and care, and Fatherly love,
And the kind friends and teachers he lends us.

Jonny. Does Thanksgiving mean all that, Annie, say,
I thought it only meant chickens and pies,
And apples and candy, and fun and play,
For little boys about my size :

But now I remember I've heard you say,
That all our good things are given
By the dear friends who are here to-day :
And by our kind Father in Heaven.

Annie. Yes, Jonny, so come let us thank them,
And thank the good Father above us,
And ask Him to take us all to His home,
Where He will always love us.

CHRIST AND THE LITTLE ONES.

"The master has come over Jordan,"
Said Hannah, the mother, one day;
"He is healing the people who throng him,
With a touch of his finger, they say.

"And now I shall carry the children,
Little Rachel and Samuel and John,
I shall carry the baby, Esther,
For the Lord to look upon."

The Father looked at her kindly,
But he shook his head and smiled:
"None but a doating mother
Would think of a thing so wild !

"If the children were tortured by demons,
Or dying of fever---'twere well---
Or had they the taint of the leper,
Like many in Israel ;"

"Nay, do not hinder me, Nathan,
I feel such a burden of care---
If I carry it to our Master
Perhaps I shall leave it there.

"If he lay his hand on the children,
My heart will be lighter, I know,
For a blessing for ever and ever,
Will follow them then, as they go."

So over the hills of Judah,
Along by the vine-rows green,
With Esther asleep on her bosom,
And Rachel her brothers between;

"Mong the people who hung on his teaching,
Or waited his touch or his word,
Through the row of proud Pharisees listening,
She pressed to the feet of the Lord.

"Now why shouldst thou hinder the Master,"
Said Peter, "With children like these ?
Seest not how from morning till evening
He teacheth, and healeth disease ?"

Then Christ said, "Forbid not the children,
Permit them to come unto me!"
And he took in his arms little Esther,
And Rachel he set on his knee ;

And the heavy heart of the mother
Was lifted all earth care above,
As he laid his hand on the brothers,
And blest them with tenderest love ;

As he said of the babes in his bosom,
"Of such are the kingdom of heaven;"
And strength for all duty and trial,
That hour to her spirit was given.

...Julia Gill, in Little Pilgrim.

BE YOUR IDEAL.

Don't sit down in hopeless despair because people won't come up to your ideal of all that is noble and good!—In your school girl or school boy retirement you have indulged in beatific visions of the world, and humanity in general. Now you have tried it and do not find all your hopes realized. You find people, as it seems to you, narrow, and selfish, and little-souled, and your own enthusiasm is chilled.—But do not be discouraged! You know that such characters as you have dreamed of, are possible. Rise above your surroundings! Be brave! Be hopeful! The Prophet within you was

not a false one. Your Ideal may be realized. If you do not find it in others, make it in yourself. Be your Ideal.

L. G.

EXERCISE FOR GIRLS.

Have you ever met a girl's school taking their accustomed exercise? Is there not something inexplicably ludicrous in the idea of some forty or fifty girls walking primly and demurely to a certain point, then right about face and back again? The timid step, the regular, metallic movement, which I have heard waggishly compared to the mode of progress of an ordinary sixteen-legged caterpillar; the sedate tone of voice, each one talking with becoming decorum with the one with whom she walks abreast, perhaps catechising one another on the meaning of the eccentricities of some French verb, or ascertaining the degree of proficiency each has attained in logic or trigonometry. How can this minister to health? But the medical attendant of the institution recommends exercise; and is not walking across the common and back exercise? Of course it is! What more would you have? Why, if that worthy lady, the school-mistress, would allow me to have the charge of her pupils on the next afternoon's walk, I think I could put them in a way of getting exercise by which they would be much more benefitted, much more pleased, and come home with rosier cheeks, and more eager appetites than is now the case. Probably at the schools where the girls are, there are several teachers, and perhaps some of the teachers have some knowledge of botany; so I would suggest that the teacher should ask two or three of the girls to bring her some wild flowers from their next afternoon's walk, with the promise held out that she would afterwards tell them something about them; and I must further petition that the girls be no longer compelled to walk two by two, methodically; but be allowed to roam and ramble at large—of course taking care that they do not get out of sight of their teachers. I admit that the effect of all the girls rambling over hill and dale—some looking into the hedge bottoms on this side, and others straggling to the other side of a broad green lane—would not nearly have the same fine effect which is produced by the formal, stately procession along the dusty pathway on the common; but it would impress any one who saw them with the idea that the girls were at ease, and were out for enjoyment. This method would most effectually invigorate their lungs, strengthen their weak limbs, change their sallow, sickly complexions into the freshest glow of health, and make them more apt to discharge properly the duties of their station in after life.

RECIPES FOR ECONOMIZING.

PARTICULARLY APPLICABLE TO HARD TIMES.

FOR LADIES.—Keep off Broadway when "great bargains" and "extraordinary reductions" are advertised.

Leave your purse in the bureau-drawer at home, if necessity compels you to pass a "cheap store!"

If you catch yourself thinking how "nice" it would be if you could have a new carpet, just transfer the adjective to another subject, and reflect how "nice" the old one still looks.

If you see anything going "at a ruinous sacrifice"—let it go!

Don't subscribe to that doctrine of economy which buys a shilling calico "to save," And then pays a dressmaker three times the value of the fabric to make it up.

Settle in your mind just what you can afford to buy, before you go to market, and don't allow yourself to be tempted by any "surprisingly cheap" luxury.

Have your purse big enough to hold the pennies, and keep them there.

Don't feel mortified because your neighbor sneers at the darn in your pocket-handkerchief, or the mended place in your gloves; the time will probably come when all the needles and thread in Christendom will be insufficient to mend her broken fortunes.

Remember that your expenditures must be regulated by your own circumstances, not the "say so" of Mrs. Grundy. "Let every woman judge for herself" is a capital motto.

And, above all, never allow yourself to forget that money goes faster after cheap things than expensive ones. And that as the wife can not earn money, it is her duty to save it.

FOR GENTLEMEN.—Get a porte-monnaie with a good rheumatic clasp to it—these purses that are easily opened are easily emptied.

Don't carry bank-bills about with you, unless you want to use them immediately; leave your money at home with your wife, and it will be a great deal easier to say "No" to those borrowing friends who come within the Scripture clause of "never repaying."

If you feel inclined to smoke a six-cent Havana, just put a good rye-straw between your teeth instead, and "chaw it" at your leisure. It is astonishing how superior you will find the flavor.

Don't get into a car or omnibus to ride half-a-dozen blocks, but walk, and set your sluggish blood into brisk circulation. Thereby you will save two things—your fare and your doctor's bill.

Remember how superior water is to sherry-cobblers and brandy-smashes on all occasions.

Let no day pass without laying by something for cloudy whether. Half a dime is better than nothing. If you can't save something out of the smallest salary, you may safely consider yourself *en route* for the poor-house!

Don't think how long you have had that old coat of yours—think, rather, how much longer you can make it last.

Send two dollars for a year's subscription to *Life Illustrated*. You will find at the end of the year that the money has been well invested.

MRS. GEORGE WASHINGTON WYLLES.

Or, if you please, send one dollar for a year's subscription to the *Principia*, and learn "the cause and cure of hard times."—Ed. *Principia*.

INFLUENCE OF FAMILY PRAYER.

A few years ago, a man traveling in Ireland, being benighted, opened a cabin door and requested permission to lodge there, which was granted. The poor man who inhabited the house was, according to the usual custom, reading a chapter of the Bible to his family. When the stranger was seated he resumed his reading and having prayed, the family retired to rest.

In the morning the same thing again took place, which seemed to attract the attention of the stranger. On rising from their knees, the stranger thanked his kind host for his hospitality, and informed him that he had travelled into that part of the country in order to attend a fair, for the wicked purpose of passing bad money; that he had brought with him base coin to the amount of four pounds; that this was the first time he had taken up such a practice, but that what he had heard in the cabin had made such an impression upon his mind, that he had resolved it should be the last. He then took out of his pocket a small bag containing the counterfeits and threw them into the fire.—*Ladies' Repository*.

CREEPING THINGS.

Let me put a spider into a lady's hand. She is aghast. She shrieks. The nasty, ugly thing! Madam, the spider is, perhaps, shocked at your Brussels laces, and although you may be the most exquisite painter living, the spider has a right to laugh at your coarse daubs as she runs over them. Just show her your crochet work when you shriek at her. "Have you spent half your days," the spider, if she be spiteful, may remark, "have you spent half your days upon these clumsy anti-macassars and ottoman covers? My dear lady, is that your web?" If I were big enough, I might with reason drop you and cry out at you. Let me spend a day with you and bring my work. I have four little bags of thread—such little bags! In every bag there are more than 1,000 holes—such tiny holes! Out of each hole thread runs, and all the threads—more than 4,000 threads—I spin together as they run, and when they are spun they make but one thread of the web I weave. I have a member of my family who is herself no bigger than a grain of sand. Imagine what a slender web she makes, and of that, too, each thread is made of 4,000 or 5,000 threads that have passed out of her four bags through 4,000 or 5,000 little holes. Would you drop her, too, crying out about your delicacy! A pretty thing for you to plume yourself on your delicacy, and scream at us!" Having made such a speech, we may suppose that the indignant creature fastens a rope round one of the rough points of the lady's hand, and lets herself down lightly to the floor. Coming down stairs is noisy, clumsy work, compared with such a way of locomotion.

The creeping things we scorn are miracles of beauty. They are more delicate than any ormolu clock, or any lady's watch made for pleasure's sake, no bigger than a shilling. Lyonot counted 4,041 muscles in a single caterpillar, and these are a small part only of her works. Hooke found 4,000 mirrors in the eye of a blue bottle, and there are 12,000 separate bits that go to provide nothing but the act of breathing in a carp.—*Dicken's Household Words*.

THE POWER OF KINDNESS.

One of the young ladies connected with the Lewiston (Me.) seminary observed a man opposite that institution trying to force along a refractory horse by beating him unmercifully. She bore the sight as long as she could, when she went up to the horse's head, spoke kindly to him, caressed him for a few minutes, and taking hold of the reins the horse hasted to move on, overcome by the young lady's kindness.

It was once our fortune to ride with a clergyman whose horse was balky; the animal stopped and refused to budge an inch. The good man was about to lay on the whip, when fearing lest the thills of the buggy, or the harness would be broken, we remonstrated, and asked permission to get out of the buggy; he listened and granted our request, and we spoke kindly to, and caressed the horse for a few minutes, and soon after on being invited to move, he did so, and carried us safely home, thus illustrating the power of kindness. A bad tempered horse and a worse tempered driver make bad work.

HAPPY WOMEN.—A happy woman! is not she the very sparkle and sunshine of life? A woman who is happy because she can't help it—whose smile even the coldest sparkle of misfortune cannot dampen. Men make a terrible mistake when they marry for beauty, for talent, for style; the sweetest wives are those who possess the magic secret of being contented under any circumstances. Rich or poor, high or low, it makes no difference; the bright little fountain of joy bubbles up just as musically in their hearts. Do they live in a cottage? the fire-light that leaps up on its humble hearth becomes brighter than the gilded chandeliers in an Aladdin palace. Do they eat brown bread or drink cold water from the well? it affords them more solid satisfaction than the millionaire's *pate de foie gras* and iced champagne. Nothing ever goes wrong with them; no trouble is so serious for them, no calamity so dark and deep, that the sunlight of their smiles will not "make the best of it." Was ever the stream of light so dark and unpropitious that the sunshine of a happy face falling across its turbid tide would not awaken an answering gleam? Why, these joyous-tempered people don't know the good they do.

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